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Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ACDA-05 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

INRE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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COME-00 EB-07 SAM-01 /095 W
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O R 071320Z JUL 75
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4358
INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 309
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY ANKARA BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY RABAT BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TUNIS BY POUCH
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
UNDOCOSOTUH
USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA
CINCLANT
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 5240

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM, EGEN, EEWT, SGEN
SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-JUNE 30- JULY 5

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1. SUMMARY: THE PACE OF WORK INTENSIFIED CONSIDERABLY AT CSCE

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LAST WEEK AS THE FINAL PUSH FOR CONCLUSION OF CONFERENCE WORK AND AGREEMENT ON A DATE FOR STAGE III CONTINUED. PROGRESS WAS RECORDED IN SEVERAL IMPORTANT AREAS AND BY WEEK'S END THE NUMBER OF OUTSTANDING ISSUES HAD BEEN REDUCED TO A HANDFUL OF CRITICAL QUESTIONS. ACCOMPANYING AND STIMULATING THE DRIVE TO WRAP UP CONFERENCE DELIBERATIONS WAS AN ALL-OUT SOVIET ATTEMPT TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON A FIRM DATE FOR THE STAGE III SUMMIT AT HELSINKI. UNDER INCREASING TIME PRESSURE TO MEET BREZHEV'S DESIRE TO BEGIN STAGE III ON JULY 28, THE SOVIET DELEGATION PULLED OUT ALL STOPS IN AN ATTEMPT TO PUSH A DECISION THROUGH THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE, REGARDLESS OF THE STATE OF WORK ON SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL RESISTANCE TO THIS TACTIC LED TO FEVERISH SOVIET EFFORTS TO RESOLVE ISSUES OF INTEREST TO KEY PARTICIPANTS, SUCH AS QRR, PEACEFUL CHANGE, CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP AND THE SO-CALLED "EUROPE CLAUSE" WHICH WOULD GIVE IMPLICIT EXTENSION OF CSCE BENEFITS TO BERLIN. NEGOTIATIONS ON THESE SUBJECTS MOVED FORWARD DRAMATICALLY AND BY THE END OF THE WEEK MOST MAJOR WESTERN DELEGATIONS WERE LEANING TOWARDS ACCEPTANCE OF A FRENCH COMPROMISE PROPOSAL ON A STAGE III DATE. ASSUMING THAT ROMANIAN OBJECTIONS TO THE PEACEFUL CHANGE FORMULATION ARE LIFTED, MOST WESTERN AND NEUTRAL PARTICIPANTS MAY ACCEPT AT LEAST TENTATIVE AGREEMENT NEXT WEEK TO HOLD STAGE III ON JULY 28. BUT SOLUTION OF THE MAJOR EAST-WEST ISSUES WILL NOT GUARANTEE A CONSENSUS AMONG ALL PARITICIPANTS. SEVERAL ISSUES REMAIN UNSOLVED WHICH ARE OF INTEREST ONLY TO ONE OR TWO COUNTRIES. MOST DIFFICULT AMONG THESE IS THE TURKISH DEMAND FOR SPECIAL CONDITIONS CONCERNING APPLICATION OF CBM'S TO THEIR TERRITORY, BUT OTHER COUNTRIES SUCH AS MALTA ALSO HAVE SPECIAL INTERESTS WHICH COULD HINDER FORMATION OF A CONSENSUS TO CONCLUDE CSCE. END SUMMARY.

2. STAGE III-DESPITE INTENSE WORK IN ALL CSCE COMMITTEES LAST WEEK, THE SOVIET CAMPAIGN TO SET A DATE FOR STAGE III SOON BECAME THE FOCUS OF ATTENTION. CONTINUING DISAGREEMENT ON THE TIMING QUESTION AT DAILY MEETINGS OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE ADDED ON AN ATMOSPHERE OF URGENCY AND DEADLOCK TO THE GENEVA DISCUSSIONS. DESPITE STIFF CONFIDENTIAL

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RESISTANCE FROM WESTERN AND NEUTRAL PARTICIPANTS, THE SOVIET CAMPAIGN DID SERVE TO DRAMATIZE THE NEED TO AGREE ON A FORMAL DATE IF THE FINNS WERE TO HAVE ENOUGH TIME TO PREPARE FOR THE SUMMIT WHICH NEARLY EVERYONE AGREED WAS "FEASIBLE AND DESIRABLE" AT THE END OF JULY.

3. AFTER CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS HAD BEEN RECORDED ON ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO THE WEST, THE FRENCH DELEGATION

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RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS ON JULY 5 TO PUT FORWARD A COMPROMISE PROPOSAL ON THE QUESTION OF DATE. AS DESCRIBED BY THE FRENCH REP AT THE EVENING SESSION OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE, THE COMPROMISE WOULD PROVIDE FOR TENTATIVE ACCEPTANCE THAT STAGE III WOULD BE HELD BEFORE THE END OF JULY, ON THE CONDITION THAT ALL STAGE II WORK BE COMPLETED BY A CERTAIN DATE. IF WORK WERE NOT COMPLETED, PARTICIPANTS WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO RECONSIDER THEIR AGREEMENT TO THE LATE JULY DATE. IN THE MEANTIME, THE FINNISH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ASKED TO BEGIN PREPARATIONS FOR STAGE III, ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IF THE MEETING WERE NOT HELD BY THE END OF JULY, FINLAND WOULD BE REIMBURSED THE COSTS IT HAD INCURRED. THIS SUM WOULD BE ADDED TO EACH COUNTRY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE COSTS OF STAGE III WHEN IT IS EVENTUALLY HELD.

4. THE FRENCH IDEA GATHERED SOME SUPPORT AMONG NATO DELEGATIONS AND ALSO SEEMED ACCEPTABLE TO WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES AND MOST NEUTRALS. HOWEVER, DURING THE COURSE OF DELIBERATIONS ON JULY 5, THE FRG AND UK DECIDEDNOT TO AGREE FORMALLY TO THE FRENCH IDEA UNTIL ALL OF THE IMPORTANT EAST-WEST POLITICAL ISSUES HAD BEEN RESOLVED. FULFILLMENT OF THIS CONDITION APPEARED POSSIBLE RIGHT UP UNTIL THE SATURDAY EVENING SESSION OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE DURING WHICH THE FRENCH INTENDED TO PUT FORWARD THEIR PROPOSAL, BUT THE ROMANIAN DELEGATION REFUSED TO LIFT A RESERVATION ON THE LANGUAGE PROVIDING FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS. AS A RESULT THE UK, FRG AND MOST OTHER NATO DELEGATIONS LIMITED THEIR RESPONSES TO AN EXPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS TO STUDY THE FRENCH IDEA AND OF HOPE THAT A DECISION COULD BE TAKEN SOON ON A STAGE III DATE. US DEL TOOK ASIMILAR POSITION.

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5. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--SUBCOMMITTEE MADE MODERATE FURTHER PROGRESS IN DRAFTING BASKET I AND PRINCIPLES PREAMBLES. FRENCH SENTENCE PROTECTING QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS, WHICH IS VIEWED BY MANY AS THE KEY ISSUE RESOLUTION OF WHICH WOULD ALLOW RAPID CONCLUSION OF THE CONFEENCE, WAS OPENLY DISCUSSED FOR THE FIRST TIME AT FRIDAY MEETING AND CRITICIZED BY SPAIN, SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND, YUGOSLAVIA, ROMANIA, ITALY, CANADA AND THE NETHERLANDS. AT MEETING FRIDAY EVENING, US, UK, FRENCH AND SOVIET REPS DECIDED TO FORCE THE ISSUE AT SATURDAY MEETING AND AFTER MARATHON ALL-DAY INFORMAL SESSION A FORUMLATION FOR INCLUSION IN THE FINAL CLAUSES WAS AGREED UPON WITH ONLY A ROMANIAN RESERVATION ON ONE PART OF FORMULATION. UPON RETURNING TO FORMAL SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING, US CALLD FOR REGISTRATION OF

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PEACEFUL CHANGES OF FRONTIERS SENTENCE AS PENUL-
TIMATE SENTENCE OF PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY.
THIRTEEN DELEGATIONS SUPPORTED THIS PROPOSAL AND CALLED
FOR IMMEDIATE REGISTRATION. ROMANIAN DEL REQUESTED
REVISIONS AND SAID HE COULD NOT AGREE TO PRESENT FOR-
MULATION, CLAIMING PRIVATELY THAT FORMULATION DID
NOT PROVIDE SUFFICIENT PROTECTION BECAUSE ROMANIA HAD
BEEN FORCED SEVERAL TIME TO CHANGE ITSFRONTIERS UNDER
DURESS BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND AGREEMENT. SUBCOMMITTEE
EXPECTS TO GET TO SECOND READING OF PRINCIPLES TOWARD
THE MIDDLE OF NEXT WEEK WITH MOST DELEGATIONS
PREDICTING THIS CAN BE DONE IN A FEW DAYS WHILE OTHERS,
SUCH AS BELGIANS AND DUTCH, SUGGESTED THAT SEVERAL WEEKS
WILL BE REQUIRED TO DO JOB PROPERLY. SPECIAL WORKING
BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION REGISTERED AND THUS COMPLETED
WORK ON THE SWISS PROPOSAL FOR THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT
OF DISPUTES AND MADE GOOD PROGRESS ON A SECOND READING
OF THE ROMANIAN PROPOSAL FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF NON-USE
OF FORCE. WORK ON ROMANIAN PROPOSAL SHOULD BE COMPLETED
NEXT WEEK, THUS CONCLUDING WORK ON SPECIAL WORKING
BODY.

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O R 071320Z JUL 75
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4359
INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 310
AMEMBASSY ANKARA BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY RABAT BY POUCH
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
USNMR SHAPE
AMEMBASSY TUNIS BY POUCH
USCINCEUR
UNDOCOSOUTH
USLO SACLANT NOFROLF VA
CINCLANT
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 5240

6. MILITARY SECURITY--TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON MAJOR ISSUES IN MANEUVER CBM WAS REACHED IN UK-SOVIET BILATERAL ON JULY 3. AGREEMENT COVERS "VOLUNTARY BASIS", THRESHOLD, TIMING AND AREA OF APPLICATION, BUT DOES NOT RESOLVE PROBLEM OF TURKISH EXCEPTION CLAUSE. MOST ALLIES CAN ACCEPT UK-SOVIET PACKAGE, ALTHOUGH BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS AND ITALY CONFIDENTIAL

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ARE RESERVING AT LEAST UNTIL EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING IN ROME ON JULY 7, AND TURKS WILL WITHHOLD AGREE-MENT UNTIL APPLICATION IN TURKEY IS SETTLED TO THEIR SATISFACTION. OBSTINATE TURKISH REJECTION OF ALL ATTEMPTS TO FIND COMPROMISE ON WHERE CBM WILL APPLY IN TURKEY IS CAUSING INCREASING FRUSTRATION WITHIN ALLIED CAUCUS AND AMONG THE TWENTY OTHER PARTICIPANTS AT CONFERENCE, SINCE ALL PORTIONS OF FINAL DOCUMENT DEALING WITH AREA ARE INTERRELATED, AND DRAFTING OF THESE PORTIONS IS VIRTUALLY STYMIED. SOVIETS HAVE EVEN SUGGESTED IN CORRDIORS THAT CSCE SUMMIT MIGHT BE HELD WITHOUT THE TURKS, BUT THIS WOULD NOT SOLVE PROBLEM OF CBM TEXTS. ALLIED DELS HAVE RELUCTANTLY CONCLUDED THAT TURKISH DELEGATION HEREIS GENUINELY HAMSTRUNG AS RESULT OF INFLEXIBLE INSTRUCTIONS, AND THAT TURKISH ISOLATION HAS TO BE BROUGHT HOME FORCEFULLY AND AT A HIGH LEVEL IN ANKARA. DRAFTING OF OTHER PORTIONS OF CBM TEXTS HAS PROCEEDED INTENSIVELY THIS WEEK ON BASIS OF UK DRAFT, WHICH WAS CIRCULATED TO ALL SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS ON JUNE 28. INITIAL SOVIET REACTIONS WERE GENERALLY POSITIVE. FOR CHAPTER ON MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS, HOWEVER, SOVIETS PROPOSED A REVISION TO PROVIDE FOR FUTURE REVIEW OF MOVEMENTS QUESTION IN THE LIGHT OF EXPERIENCE WITH MANEUVERS AND OBSERVERS MEASURES AND ALLIES ARE NOW DISCUSSING WHETHER SOVIET PROPOSAL IS ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR A CON-SENSUS. UK DRAFT DID NOT CONTAIN CHAPTER ON CSCE/ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS, TEXT FOR WHICH WAS WORKED OUT

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SEPARATELY IN SMALL DRAFTING GROUP CONSISTING OF UK, FRANCE, AUSTRIA, USSR AND YUGOSLAVIA.

7. ECONOMICS-MAJOR STEP WAS TAKEN WITH REGISTRATION OF TEXT ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND REMOVAL OF OTHER BRACKETS IN BASKET II PREAMBLE.COMMITTEE COULD NOT HOWEVER NOT MAKE BREAKTHROUGH ON RECIPROCITY ISSUE OR SAFEGUARD CLAUSE. DISCUSSION OPENED ON MFN BUT POSITIONS SEEMED UNCHANGED FROM EARLIER IN CONFERENCE WITH EASTERN GROUP INSISTING ON MUCH MORE POSITIVE REFERENCE TO MFN AND UNWILLING TO LINK IT WITH MEANINGFUL STATEMENT ON RECIPROCITY. IN EFFORT TO END STALEMATE, COMMITTEE SESSIONS WERE SCHEDULED BOTH MORNING AND AFTERNOON FOR WEEK OF CONFIDENTIAL

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JULY 7/11. OTHER AREAS SUBCOMMITTEE COMPLETED WORK ON MIGRATORY LABOR AND TOURISM.

8. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATIONS-AT WEEK'S END, AFTER INTENSIVE ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS, COMMITTEE III PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED FULL TEXTS ON HUMAN CONTACTS, INFORMATION, CULTURE AND EDUCATION. COMMITTEE MUST STILL DEAL WITH CERTAIN QUESTIONS LINKED TO PENDING DECISIONS IN OTHER BASKETS, INCLUDING TITLE OF OVERALL BASKET III DOCUMENT

AND FRENCH DESIRE TO DESCRIBE CULTURE DOCUMENT AS A "DECLARATION". NEUTRALS STRONGLY OPPOSE FRENCH POSITION ON LATTER POINT, ARGUING THAT IT GIVES UNDUE IMPORTANCE TO CULTURE TEXT. ADDITIONALLY, SOVIETS ARE UNWILLING TO MAKE THIS CONCESSION TO FRENCH UNTIL QUESTION OF TITLES IN BASKET I IS SETTLED.

9. MEDITERANEAN-VERY LITTLE PROGRESS WAS MADE ON RESOLVING THE CONTINUING DEADLOCK OVER MALTESE DEMANDS. WHILE MINTOFF IS TOURING EUROPEAN CAPITALS HIS REP IN GENEVA HAS HAD NO INSTRUCTIONS ENABLING HIM TO RESPOND TO THE MODEST COMPROMISE OFFER MADE TO HIM LAST WEEKEND BY THE EC-NINE. IN THE MEANTIME THE NINE, BUT PARTICULARLY UK ARE SHOWING SIGNS OF INCREASING NERVOUSNESS AND ARE CONSIDERING OFFERING MALTESE "RELATIVELY INNOCUOUS" ADDI-TIONAL PARAGRAPH AS FACE-SAVING DEVICE. USDEL HAS INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS EXERCISE, BUT HAS MADE NO COMMITMENT ON SPECIFIC LANGUAGE. IN THE MEANTIME, USDEL HAS ALSO INFORMED WORKING GROUP THAT WE CANNOT ACCEPT SOVIET-DESIRED REFERENCE IN MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION TO UN RESOLUTIONS ON PEACE AND SECURITY, BUT COULD, LIKE ALLIES, ACCEPT SPECIFIC OR GENERAL REFERENCE TO FRIENDLY RELATIONS DECLARATION.

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10. FINAL DOCUMENTS--WORK ON THE FINAL ACT PROGRESSED
WITH TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT OF A DISCLAIMER CLAUSE
AND ON THE CONTENT OF A LETTER TO BE SENT TO THE UN SECRETARY
GENERAL BY THE GOVERNMENT OF FINLAND DECLARING THAT CSCE TEXTS
ARE NOT ELIGIBLE FOR REGISTRATION UNDER ARTICLE 102 OF THE
UN CHARTER. A COMPOSITE DUTCH-ROMANIAN DRAFT FINAL ACT IS
SCHEDULED TO BE PRESENTED TO THE INFORMALY GROUP HANDLING
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THIS QUESTION ON MONDAY, JULY 7 .

11. FOLLOW-UP--IN THE COURSE OF INTENSE NEGOTIATIONS
A TENTATIVE, AND STILL FRAGILE UNDERSTANDING ON THE KEY
PROVISIONS OF FOLLOW-UP WAS REACHED LATE ON JULY 5,
WHICH APPEARS TO STAISFY THE TWO ALLIANCES,THE NEUTRALS,
ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA. THE TEXTS STILL REQUIRE FURTHER
WORK AND REFINEMENT, BUT TO REFLECT SUFFICIENT POLITICAL
COMPROMISE TO SUGGEST THAT THE END OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS
SUBJECT IS NOW IN SIGHT.

12. COMMENT: THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE IS SCHEDULED TO
MEET DAILY DURING THE COMING WEEK IN AN ATTEMPT TO REACH
AGREEMENT ON A STAGE III DATE. THE NUMBER OF COUNTRIES
FORMALLY OPPOSING THE FRENCH COMPROMISE PROPOSAL WILL
PROBABLY BE REDUCED TO HALF DOZEN OR LESS BY MID-WEEK. AT
THAT POINT, THE QUESTION WILL BE HOW FIRMLY
THESE PARTICIPANTS WISH TO BLOCK CONSENSUS IN ORDER TO ASSURE
SATISFACTION OF THEIR OWN NEEDS. THE TOUGHEST PROBLEMS ARE
LIKELY TO CENTER AROUND TURKEY, WHICH IN ADDITION TO ITS
RESERVE ON CBM'S STILL FORMALLY HAS DIFFICULTIES
ON THE QUESTION OF CYPRIOT REPRESENTATION AT STAGE III.
OTHERS WHO SEEM LIKELY TO OPPOSE CONSENSUS, AT LEAST AT
THE BEGINNING, INCLUDE MALTA AND ROMANIA, EACH OF WHICH IS
DOGGEDLY PURSUING ITS SPECIAL INTERESTS, AND HOLLAND
AND BELGIUM WHO SEEM MOTIVATED MOSTLY BY A REACTION
TO WHAT THEY SEEM TO BELIEVE IS UNACCEPTABLE PRESSURE ON
SMALL COUNTRIES TO "RUSH" CONCLUSION OF STAGE II. OUR
JUDGEMENT CONTINUES TO BE THAT STAGE II WORK WILL BE
COMPLETED IN TIME TO HOLD STAGE III AT END OF JULY.
HOWEVER, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS RESULT WILL BE
ACHIEVED ONLY AFTER CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE IS EXERTED ON
THE REMAINING HOLD-OUTS, ESPECIALLY TURKEY. DALE

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06 JUL 2006

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